/For general information on the office of the alcaldes in the community see also category 624./

us 65 pesos per bag. It was the first time we had used it and we had very good crops. We got together and decided not to pay for the fertilizer. We called the bank agents and requested that we be relieved of the charge because the crops had failed. We showed him a milpa which is a low plot that is too wet for a good crop. We just throw the seed there, but don't work on it because it isn't worth the trouble.

We went to a lawyer in Tuxtla. He told us the bank would have to pay for the fertilizer since they had promised it. The lawyer is the helper of the campesinos [*poor farmers*].

Several points of significance can be noted in this case: (1) the Indians are reluctant to take credit risks because of unfortunate experiences in the past; (2) they react to deception with their own deceptions, showing the engineer the land which had not only not been fertilized but had never been weeded or cared for; and (3) they seek professional legal aid in dealing with government agents in order to equalize the contest in which they feel disadvantaged. These first two behavioral syndromes are culturally conditioned responses; the third represents an innovation. By seeking professional aid for which they pay a fee, the Indians are breaking the monopoly of power held by the caciques to whom they were formerly bound in a network of personal obligations incurred in such transactions.

Recent colonization of national lands since the 1950s has introduced a new kind of ejido settlement. Since most of the lands contiguous to settled towns were absorbed in the early days of the ejido grant, movement has been into lands outside the domain of established centers. This spontaneous colonization of unexploited land has followed the penetration of new highways in Quintana Roo, Campeche, Chiapas, Tabasco, and Vera Cruz (de la Peña 1951:348). In defense of their rights to the new lands, the colonists, often of diverse origins, develop a political consciousness. Mestizos and Indians of different towns work together in securing official ejido status for their lands. Acculturation to the national language and ways of life is much greater in these mixed centers than in the settled populations that were part of the original ejido tracts. Consciousness of their rights under national law and independence from traditional loyalties means that these new settlements may be the basis for welding Indians into the na-

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474 The strategies the cooperative members have developed in their frequent
648 tangles with state police illustrate the combination of custom and innova-
661 tion. When caught red-handed, they may respond by playing the stereotype Indian role. "We don't know anything. We are just poor Indians. How do you expect us to do what the law says?" This is hard for the Ladino authorities to resist, since it feeds their own sense of superiority. But it does not always work, and so the Indians have devised secondary resources. They put the departmental police at each terminal of their usual route between Las Casas and Comitán on a regular monthly mordida pay-
[693] roll of 50 pesos each. When trying to extend their operations, they hire a lawyer. A recent coup has been the acquisition of a permit to truck corn from Villa las Rosas and other ejido settlements that have been recently colonized. The appeal was made on the basis that they are a nonprofit cooperative of ejidatarios. With the permit, they now undercut the price of their own competitors in the town as well as of the large companies. Law-
474 yers are beginning to advertise themselves in newspapers as "Friends of
693 the Indians" and are in some cases specializing in this new patronage, which they receive from other communities as well as Tzoʔontahal. The professional relationship bypasses personal ties which formerly limited the development of Indian leadership.

177 The self-development occurring in Tzoʔontahal may appear paradoxical
178 if we do not understand the internal dynamics by which change is con-
474 tained within an existing equilibrium. The cooperative association has
621 been adopted as a technique for socializing the risk of making a profit.
648 The truck, although currently used in an uneconomic operation, is a sym-
[493] bol of power in the struggle for a position in the regional markets and in the intracommunity factional strifes. The usual patron-client system is being reversed as the Indian puts the Ladino on his payroll to secure evasion from the law. In the changes which are occuring, the defensive structure of the corporate community is a means by which the Indians are entering into national life not on the lowest rung of the social ladder, but on terms they are setting for themselves. In the new enterprises, the Indians combine old ploys with new strategies. Confronted with legal threats from the outside world, they play the colonial game of defensive ignorance.

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When this fails, they turn to the professional help of lawyers rather than to the old caciques with whom they had formerly maintained patron-client relations. The traditional structural alignment of upper and lower barrios is retained as the basis for organizing the growing cattle herds, but the cooperative provides flexibility and power for developing new enterprises.

The minimal changes in the material environment and the technology of the peasantry are countered by the development of social resources which should facilitate Indian integration in the wider society. In operating the new enterprises independently of Ladino control, they are developing entrepreneurial skills and an awareness of the relationship between capital and profit. The restriction of their operations to nonproductive use of capital for profit, such as buying crops at harvest and reselling as the price rises, reveals the limited dynamics of intracommunal development. The town will look to the regional and national networks for fundamental changes in its economy.

The fear of exciting envy acts as a brake on productive activity and the enjoyment of improved consumption resulting from wealth. Santos' death is a symbolic warning to others who would follow in his footsteps. An earlier case occurred when the ejido land grants were made in the 30s:

The brothers Ča?iletik became "very rich" as a result of careful operation of their ejido and privately owned land. They owned ten pair of oxen and about fifty horses. When they brought in their crops on horseback, it looked like a line of ants. They built a good house in Alkob', and a good threshing shelter. The people of the town began to talk about getting them off the land. The ejido commissioner took their land away and turned it over to others in the town. Until this day, the brothers Ča?iletik are without land. Now they do no more than work like other men. They live poorly. All their cattle and horses are sold.

The organization of the cooperatives is one means of diverting envy directed against individuals and permitting some increase in productive efforts, but the society still lacks the means of validating higher consumption standards. The richest man in town eats better than his neighbors,

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Vogt 1965; Wagley 1949; Wisdom 1940; Zabala 1961). Comparison of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy reveals differing applications of the same principles of allocating roles (age, sex, territorial identification, and previous service) and differing assignments of the same tasks (administrative, judgment, and maintenance).

In this chapter, I shall analyze the civil-religious hierarchy in Tzo'ontahal as a formally prescribed system of roles and behavior. The data on which the analysis is based are: (1) the system of roles and the principles of allocation, (2) careers in office of household heads, (3) instrumental behavior prescribed for officials, and (4) ritual behavior. The following chapter will be concerned with the exercise of power within the limits set by the formal organization of offices.

The Matrix of Roles

Civil officials. Civil offices in Tzo'ontahal are a segmented, ranked set of posts, each of which has an internally age-graded ranking. Outside of these segments are two leadership positions, those of president and his assistant, *síndico,* which are not controlled by the same criteria of entry—service in lower posts of the civil and religious hierarchies and age. Multiple posts at the same level have equal representation of officials from the upper and lower divisions of the center, Ahk'olnantik and Alannantik, and single posts are held alternately by residents of each side. Theoretically, the post of president should alternate as well, but in fact the scarcity of qualified candidates limits consideration of this condition. Since 1948, of the twelve presidents, only four were from Ahk'olnantik.

The four ranked segments (Fig. 6) from higher to lower are *krinsipaletik,* or principales, *alkaletik,* or judges, *rehiroletik,* or regidores, and *mayoletik,* or policemen. The relative rank of the post is expressed in terms of its power, and the relative rank of the post-holder in terms of age (the term used to describe an older office holder, *mas mamalil,* has the extended meaning of greater power [1]). Age-ranking of officials complements

1. Siverts (1965) points out that in Cancuk the term *mamal,* or elder, was applied to a young man who held a post of high authority because of his skills in literacy and language. By terminological reference, he was graduated into the senior age group.

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561 the household principles of authority in which seniority gives one the right to command. This principle is violated in the case of an older man who has served as regidor and sometimes even judge and returns to the lower post of ceremonial leader of the policemen. Some of the officials say that this is an "ugly" custom because it means that the hierarchy "is not a straight road." Due to obstacles in the individual's career in the hierarchy, within any segment there may be older men in the lower posts than in the higher. However, except for the barrio judges, posts within each segment are occupied by men of roughly the same decade in age (Table 23).

• [693] A complement of age-grading in the designation of officials is the principle of residence. In the upper two ranks of judges, one is chosen from the upper division, Ahk'olnantik, and one from the lower division, Alannantik. The remaining two judges are chosen from the outlying barrios of Madronal and Bočib'al. Judges representing the colonias of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada do not regularly attend the town

TABLE 23. Rank and Age of Civil Officials

Post	*Division*	*Age*
Judges (Alkaletik)		
First Judge	Alannantik	75
Second Judge	Ahk'olnantik	52
Barrio Judge	Madronal	42
Barrio Judge	Bočibal	50
Regidores (Rehiroletik)		
First Regidor	Ahk'olnantik	43
Second Regidor	Alannantik	44
Third Regidor	Alannantik	43
Fourth Regidor	Ahk'olnantik	48
Police (Mayoletik)		
First Police	Ahk'olnantik	27
First Police	Alannantik	28
Second Police	Ahk'olnantik	25
Second Police	Alannantik	30
Third Police	Ahk'olnantik	32
Third Police	Alannantik	30
Fourth Police	Madronal	25
Fourth Police	Bočibal	35
Martomorey	Ahk'olnantik	48
Martomorey	Alannantik	48

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hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *hu?eletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzo?ontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

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Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*
Have the responsibility of publishing the laws and edicts of the government. Announce to the townspeople the days for electoral meetings.		
Regidores: †		
	Sit on the benches inside the town hall. If there is no judge, regidores order police. Arrange dispute cases with the president and judges.	642 624 Bring in officials nominated by the civil authority. Greet them in their houses with the pat?o?tan. Transmit orders of the president to the policemen. Pour liquor in the town hall for the other civil officials. Sit in on court cases.
Police: Care for the streets, markets, and public plazas, hospitals and other public places. Inspect the quality of foods of all kinds in the interest of the public and the sellers. Care for the drainage of swampy places and free standing and unhealthy waters. Name a permanent commission charged with maintaining the health of the place. Ensure that the public fountains are well kept up and have abundant water. Ensure the punctual attendance of the children in school. See that the equipment distributed by the army is done with equality. Help the alcaldes tend to the execution of the laws, rulings, and agreements of the civil officials.	Sit on the benches, outside the town hall. Summon children absent from school. Maintain public buildings and streets. Distribute portions of bull slaughtered for a fiesta to those who have paid 20 pesos.	642 625 Maintain town hall, plaza, road from highway to town. Adorn town hall for fiestas. Cook common meal for civil officials following court cases when fines have been collected. Collect money for fiestas from each household. Buy liquor for use in town hall. Round up truant school children. Bring in criminals.

(*cont.*)

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party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.

Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.

The Cabildo

The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank; the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenángo is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

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building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

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695 minimum of explicit rules. Very little is ruled out of order, and almost nothing introduced is considered irrelevant. The dialogue is primarily between the judge and claimant and secondarily between judge and defendant. The rural judges join with the regidores, who act as court clerks when a case is heard, in a kind of Greek chorus when consensus is reached regarding statements made by defendant or claimant. The judges indicate clearly their approval or disapproval of the statements being made, and throughout the case, consensual verdicts are made in an apparently spontaneous manner. No one pretends to be impartial. Personal knowledge of the defendant or claimant is introduced into the case.

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Courtroom behavior falls into three major acts: (1) the declaration by the claimant, (2) the questioning of the defendant (literally the "taking of the heart"), and (3) the paying of the fine. The judge introduces the first act by asking the claimant to "come and speak" so that they can "listen and hear." This ends formally with the claimant saying, "Good day, Elder Brother." The judge introduces the second act when he turns to the defendant, who stands before the civil officials, and says, "Speak and we shall listen, boy. What goes with you?" The defendant sums up his defense in the questioning period. The president introduces the final act, telling the defendant, "When you give a little fine you will be free."

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[641] [273] [178]

Both claimant and defendant pay court fees, an acknowledgment of the feeling that both are guilty because they are involved in a dispute. Before the term of the incumbent president began, this was paid in two liters of illegally distilled liquor, a kind of symbolic defiance of federal law. Now, since the president drinks only beer, it is paid in two family-sized bottles of beer. The etiquette of courtroom drinking is prescribed: the bottle, referred to as *smahtan*, or gift, is passed to the judge, who goes to the president and presents it to him with a few words of the pat?o?tan giving thanks for the gift. The fourth regidor then measures out the liquor, giving the first shot to the president, the next to the first judge and so on around the room. If a large fine is paid by the defendant, the president orders the police to buy meat, and a "common meal" is prepared and eaten.

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In this society, there are neither veniremen nor specialized advocates. Civil officials other than the first judge act as jurors, announcing their sentiments in unison. The judge, rather than handing down a decision, sums up the consensus of the group. Kinsmen of the claimant and defendant act

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as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbehavior and their own faihure to train him properly. The judge does not limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to how he should behave.

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jackets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social control, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers that the town is being well run.

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino officials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal government began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in 72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are adequately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the breakdown in social control processes.

The Church

The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from household heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the

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CHART 4 – CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS

Officials in the Townhall	*Officials Who Link Townhall and Church*	*Officials in the Church*
Principales *(Krinnipaletik)* First Principal *(Sba Krinnipal)* Second Principal *(Slebal Krinnipal)* President *(Presirente)* Secretary *(Secretarió)* Síndico *(Sinnikó)*		Fiscal *(Pilkal)*
Judges *(Alkaletik)* First Judge, Alannantik *(Sba Alkal or Primero Alkal)* Second Judge, Ahk'olnantik *(Slebal Alkal)* Assistant Judge, La Grandeza *(Alkal Suplente Bobbal)* Assistant Judge, Madronal *(Alkal Suplente Magronal)*		Mayordomos *(Martomastik)* Cofrades or Brothers *(Kobrarietik)* Cofrade of Sacramento *(Kobraria Sakramentó)* Cofrade of Sta. Lucía *(Kobraria Halal Me?tik)* Cofrade of San Pedro Martyr *(Kobraria Tatik Martil)* Cofrade of San Francisco *(Kobraria Sanpranisiká)* Elders *(Tatik)* Elder of Santiago *(Tatik Santiagó)* Elder of San Antonio *(Tatil Tatik Senantonió)* Elder of Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Me?tik Rosarió)* Elder of San José *(Tatil Tatik Sankosé)* Assistants to Cofrades *(Ali?bal Kobrarietik)* Assistant to Sacramento *(Ali?bal Sakramentó)* Assistant to Virgin Santa Lucía *(Ali?bal Halal Me?tik)* Junior Mayordomos *(Ni?nal Martomastik)* Junior of San Pedro Martyr *(Ni?nal Tatik Martil)* Junior of San Francisco *(Ni?nal Sanpranisiká)* Junior of Santiago *(Ni?nal Santiagó)* Junior of San Antonio *(Ni?nal Tatik Senantonió)* Junior of Santiago *(Ni?nal Tatik Santiagó)* Junior of Rosario *(Ni?nal Me?tik Rosarió)*
Regidores *(Rehiroletik)* First Regidor *(Primeró Rehirol)* Second Regidor *(Slebal Rehirol)* Third Regidor *(Yolebal Rehirol)* Fourth Regidor *(Slanebal Rehirol)*		
Policemen *(Mayoletik)* 2 First Police *(Primeró Mayoj)** 2 Second Police *(Slebal Mayol)* 2 Third Police *(Yolebal Mayol)* 2 Fourth Police *(Slanebal Mayol)* 2 Last Police *(Spasil Mayol)*	Alfereces *(Alperesetik)* Elder Past *(Tat Pasaró)* Remains Past *(Šil Pasaró)* Second Past *(Slebal Pasaró)* New Alférez *(AP Alperés)*	

*Also called Mayomoroy.

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MY ELICITING PROCEDURES are described to make explicit the steps in constructing the informant's cognitive model. The first responses given by an informant are most often those which have the greatest significance within a structured system of priorities or of dominance. For example, informants in Tzo?ontahal invariably listed the officials in order of primacy. Another clue to the structuring of social relations is the omission of data in the first interview. This can mean either repression of information or lack of significance for the informant as an individual or for the society. These factors can be sorted out in subsequent interviews.

When asked, "What are all the kinds of offices in Tzo?ontahal," informants replied, "offices in the *kabiltu*, or townhall, and offices in the *č'ulna*, holy house or church. The question, "What are the kinds of officials in the townhall?" elicited the following three categories: *alkaletik*, alcaldes or judges; *rehiroletik*, regidores; and *mayoletik*, mayores or policemen. These categories are ranked relative to each other; for example, *alkaletik* is of greater prestige (*mas mamališ*, senior), *rehiroletik* next, and *mayoletik* least. Thus there are in the *alkaletik* category: *primero alkal*, first judge; *sčebal alkal*, second judge; *čeb suplente alkal*, two assistant judges. In the *rehiroletik* category there are: *primero rehirol*, first regidor; *sčebal rehirol*, second regidor; *yošebal rehirol*, third regidor; *čanebal rehirol*, fourth regidor. In the *mayoletik* category there are: *primero mayol*, first policeman; *sčebal mayol*, second policeman; *yošebal mayol*, third policeman; *sčanebal mayol*, fourth policeman; and *spoil mayol*, last policeman.

Cutting across this ranked hierarchy of officials are two geographical divisions; these align officials according to the side of the dual division in which they reside and which they represent. There is one judge from the upper division, *ahk'olnantik*, and one from the lower division, *alannantik*. The first judge is chosen in alternate years from one or the other of the two divisions, and so on for each rank of judges and regidores. There are two sets of five police, one from each side of the dual division serving in alternating weeks. The two assistant judges are chosen from the barrios Magronal and Bočibal. They never attain the first two positions. In addition to this regular ladder

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In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?"

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out.

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below.

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre-

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sented by an elder *tatil martoma* and a junior *niẖ'anil martoma*, and that the 15 mayordomos were further ranked in terms of the four major saints, the *mas mamališ* or more senior, whose mayordomos are referred to as *ḳobraria*, cofradías or brotherhoods, and the remaining as mayordomos. The four *ḳobrarias* were ranked in terms of the importance and expense of the saint whom they support. The order for Tzo?ontahal is Sacramento *(Saḳramentu)*, Virgin Santa

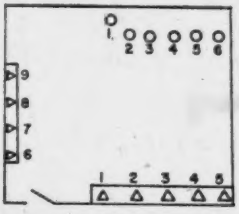

CHART 2 — EVENING, DECEMBER 31, HOUSE OF NEW JUDGE (ELICITED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Me?il K'op)*
2 Wife of president *(Yinam Presirente)*
3-6 Wives of juniors *(Yinam Niẖ'anil)*

MEN (triangles):
1 Leading house official *(Statal Nakawane)*
2 New judge *(Aẖ' Alkal)*
3-5 Assistants, sons of judge *(Balnialetik)*
6-9 Woodgatherers *(Akni?etik)*

Lucia *(Halal Me?tik Santalusia)*, San Pedro Martyr *(Tatik Martil)*, and San Francisco *(Tatik Sanpransisku)*. There was complete agreement among the three informants questioned regarding this rank order, but for rank order of the 12 remaining mayordomos in charge of the 19 lesser saints there was no agreement between informants, and even the same informant was inconsistent in different eliciting sessions.

Outside the traditional hierarchy is the *piškal* (in Spanish *fiscal*), who is the direct assistant of the priest and serves in an advisory capacity in charge of the church activities of the brotherhoods and mayordomos in the absence of the priest. This role was not elicited, but in my questioning about fiestas he was mentioned as performing a certain role. The incumbent in the past three years was serving as president for the third time, showing the scarcity of men with the needed literary skills. The fiscal is usually relieved of other posts while serving in office. Another set of roles external to the hierarchy are the *me?eletik* (or *resadoras*, the Spanish term for female prayermakers). These are usually widowed or single wo-

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts.

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a sepresentative of one of the two barrios.

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career.

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *niš'anil kuč ha?*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *?ali?bal*, the assistant to the *kobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and religious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior

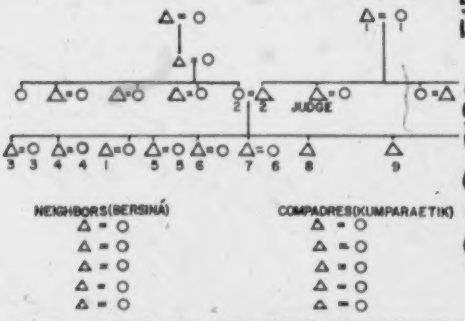

CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

titles for mayordomos (*tatil* and *niĉ' anil martoma*) and in the use of *mas mamališ* (more senior) for higher rank offices.

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is that of a core of officeholders in three ranked segments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayermakers, are elicited only with repeated questioning or with reference to some event in which they function. These roles differ from those mentioned first in that they are either of little significance to the individual informant (this would explain the consistent omission of the rural judge by the people of the center) or are not part of the required posts incumbent upon every male household head to undertake (this might explain the omission of the president, síndico, principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session). Structural principles made explicit by the informants are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in representation of the dual division. An implicit corollary of passage through offices beginning with lower ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other structural aspects emerged in the description of behavior, described below.

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INFORMANTS' SEGMENTATION of behavior in the inauguration of civil and religious officials is based on responses to questions in Appendices 1 and 2. The description of the activities is organized in

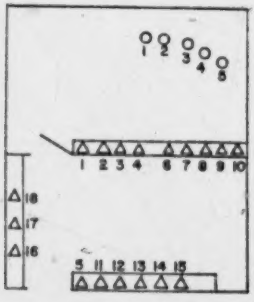

CHART 4 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF FIRST JUDGE (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Me?il K'op)*
2 Second woman *(Sčebal sme?)*
3 Third woman *(Yolebal sme?)*
4, 5 Women *(Me?eletik)*

MEN (triangles):
1-4 Nakawane
5 First judge *(Mam primeró Alkal)*
6 Second judge *(Alkal Sčebal)*
7 Assistant judge of La Grandeza *(Hwes Suplente Bolibil)*
8 Assistant judge of Madronal *(Hwes Suplente Magronal)*
9 Assistant judge of San Caralampio *(Hwes Suplente Sankaralampio)*
10 Assistant judge of San Vicente *(Hwes Suplente San Bicente)*
11 First regidor *(Rehirol Primero)*
12 Second regidor *(Rihirol Sčebal)*
13 Síndico *(Sintiku)*
14 Third regidor *(Rehirol Yolebal)*
15 Fourth regidor *(Rehirol Skunebal)*
16 *Balnial*
17 Liquor pourer *(P'is Ha?)*
18 *Balnial*

terms of settings and roles. For each segment of behavior an attempt will be made to analyze how the structural relations and values are spelled out in spatial location, mode of address, and activity.

The settings in which the change of civil officials is carried out are (1) the houses of the incoming officials, (2) the townhall, (3) the plaza, and (4) the church. In each arena, the validation and support of

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzoʔontahal.

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *meʔil kʼop*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *nitʼanil*.

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahkʼolnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik* meet in the house of their first police.

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *patʔotʼan* as the *sik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(kʼa huʼeletik)* along with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(spʼis snitʔik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alfereces have delivered from the church.

[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal.

reces have delivered from the church. The presence of the alfereces with their banners proclaims the link between civil and religious office.

The principales, now fairly inebriated after their long wait for the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs, assisted by the old president who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the new officials. The intoxicated state of the principales is never mentioned in elicited statements. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. As the only "permanent"

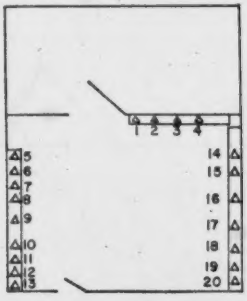

CHART 5 — MORNING, HOUSE OF PRESIDENT, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS (all men):

1 Nakawane
2 President
3, 4 Nakawane
5 First judge
6 Second judge
7 Síndico
8, 9 Assistant judges
10 First regidor
11 Second regidor
12 Third regidor
13 Fourth regidor
14-20 *Balnialetik*

incumbents—permanent so long as they are alive, healthy, and not impoverished—they are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials. When all the old officials have retired to their homes following the ceremony, and the new officials have gone on to the church, the principales wait in the townhall for the new officials to return for the afternoon drinking session in which they will join, as they had done in the morning with the old officials.

Wearing their rosaries, the new officials follow the alfereces out of the townhall in a procession. Holding the holy banners, the alfereces line up before the townhall, dip their banners, and proceed to the

church where the same reverence is accorded to the church. The order of the procession following them indicates the rank order of the officials, from the *spoil mayol*, the last policeman, to the first and second judge (Chart 9). The precedence of the first two

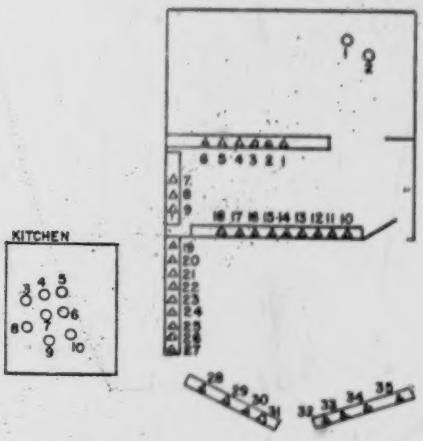

CHART 6—MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF NEW PRESIDENT (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):

1 Woman speaker *(Me⁹il K'op)*, comadre president
2 Second woman, neighbor
3-10 *Wanchetik*

MEN (triangles):

1 First Nakawane
2 Second Nakawane
3 Third Nakawane, brother of president
4 President
5, 6 Visitors from Colonias
7-9 *Balnialetik*
10 First judge
11 Second judge
12 First regidor
13 Second regidor
14 Third regidor
15 Fourth regidor
16 Assistant judge of Madronal
17 Assistant judge of La Grandeza
18 Assistant judge of San Caralampio
19-35 Visitors

judges over the president and síndico reverses that which was taken as they enter the church. There may be some permissible variation here, since the elicited version of the former president indicates that they should enter last. Possibly the threat of assassination (p. 223) caused them to enter before the judges as a security measure. The procession makes two turns

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Change of Officials

621*
788
554
693 •

"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."

621*
794

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49).

[782]

The new officials "speak to God," asking for health so that they can complete their obligation to the town.

[788]

They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

621*
273
[794]
[625]

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten policemen from the two sides of the dual division and the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The pardon to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who knows the *pat?ot'an*, and can do the honors. The president is served following the principales in the round of drinking.

[693]
[782]
[431]
[537]

794
796

The change of religious officials takes place on the fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *kobraria* of Halal me?tik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action.

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas kantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(komun we?el)*; second day is *wiłperes*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'ale*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *kobraria* of Halal Me?tik Santalusia, was cut short because the *kobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakaj na?)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *kobraria* of Sakramentu.

[362]

The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new mayordomos" *(mamal ?aj martomaetik)* (App. 2,

[537]

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621*
554
693 •
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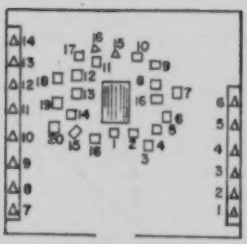

CHART 7 — TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING OATH OF OFFICE (ELICITED)

OLD OFFICIALS (triangles):

1 First principal
2 Second principal
3 Elder past alférez
4 Remaining past alférez
5 Third past alférez
6 Junior alférez
7 First judge
8 Second judge
9 Third judge
10 Fourth judge
11 First regidor
12 Second regidor
13 Third regidor
14 Fourth regidor
15 President
16 Síndico

NEW OFFICIALS (squares):

1 President
2 Síndico
3 First judge
4 Second judge
5 Third judge
6 Fourth judge
7 First regidor
8 Second regidor
9 Third regidor
10 Fourth regidor
11 First police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
12 Second police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
13 Third police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
14 Fourth police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
15 Last police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
16 First police *(Alannantik)*
17 Second police *(Alannantik)*
18 Third police *(Alannantik)*
19 Fourth police *(Alannantik)*
20 Fifth police *(Alannantik)*

NOTE: Canes of office are on table near center of room.

[P. 219-B]

as a team. Thus the junior *(niẽ'anil)* and senior *(tatil)* officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors.

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the *nakawanehetik*, the group of elders

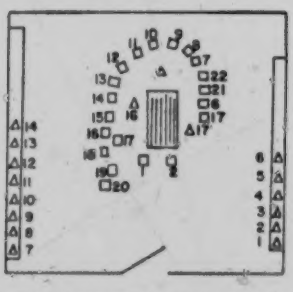

CHART 8 — INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on alferez assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event.

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Appendix 1 — Change of Officials in the Townhall

Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?aẖ ha?ẖil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*ẖermanotak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*stasal nakawame*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *balnial*, assistants to pass gruel, sons of the new officials *?aẖ si?etik*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1963
*62 124	13. What time does he begin to raise the officials?		He gets up early about 6 A.M.	
796 624	14. How does the fourth regidor raise the other officials?	First he goes to get the third regidor. Then they go to the second. The three go to collect the first. After all are together, the four go to the house of the first judge	The fourth regidor goes to the house of the third regidor. They leave and go to the house of the second regidor, then to the house of the first regidor. Then they go to the síndico's house. Leave and go to the house of the judge	
*62 124 796 693	15. How do the judges join together?	First the two assistant judges call on the second judge. Then the three go to the house of the first judge	The assistant judge for Ahk'olnantik goes to raise assistant for Alantontik. The two go to the house of the second judge. Then they go to the house of the first judge	I arrived at 9:30 at the house of the first alcalde. Present were the following (see Chart 3)
[292]	16. What do the judges do in the house of the first judge?	They drink liquor. They await the arrival of the four regidores	They drink liquor	Before serving liquor the first judge gave the benediction for the liquor (*pat?at'an yil muktiunil*) with the first *nakawane*. His godchild *ahijado thalal nupune*, of marriage, and his brother-in-law Lucian Kut poured liquor. He served cigarettes. Two liters of liquor were drunk here before going to house of president
[292] [576]	17. What do they do then?	They go to the house of the president (see Chart 4)	Go to the house of the president	Assembled company prepared to leave at 10:10. The first judge puts on his plain red kerchief. The assistant judges put on flowered red kerchiefs. First judge said goodbye to the *nakawane*. This formal adieu, the *spat lok'yo?t'an*. Regidores stood up and came out. Then the assistant judge arrived at the house of President 10:30. (Chart 6)
*62 124 796 693 576	18. What do they do when they enter the house of the president?	The first judge gives the *spat yo?t'an* with the first nakawane	The first regidor gives the *pat?at'an*	First judge speaks with *me?il k'op* who stood at door of inner room. The *nakawanchetik* bowed and kissed hands with the first and second alcaldes
[538] [539]	19. How do they give the *spat yo?t'anik* at his house the president?	They sing what they will do for the year	Holy evening, mamtat, your health. God how does He see you, mamtat. You are alive speak God holy evening. Behind your heart no illness I hear this holy evening.	(See Chart 6 for seating at house of president)

[p. 231]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

#621
124
796
693
576
539

(Judge) I live. There ú no illness. Lord mamtat give pardon with God with the Virgin Mother (*Tios sok Halal me?tik*). Enter holy pardon lord, give pardon Virgin Mother

Here we are gathered before you where is seated "our sal our mud" (our bodies). What are we going to do to make arrive to fall to happen holy New Year our patron of heaven (*kak-wolok*) God. Here in a little dawns the holy hour. Let us go look before our heart where we are going to receive the holy oath inside of the holy cold house the cold hall where we go to receive our suffering our work holy staff, holy wand. It is going to change, holy day, holy year. Thus we do as did in the past our mother our father.

20. What do they do after the greeting?

They drink coffee

They drink coffee

#621
124
796
264
292
262
693

At 10:45 served bread set on bowl of coffee and bean tortilla in a cloth wrapping. First served *nakawanchetik* then president, then first and second judge, then first and second regidor, then assistant judge, then visitors. At 10:55 *nakawane* got up and stood before first judge and spoke the *spalon mat* (account of the gift). Then the first judge spoke the *spalon mat* to second judge. The first two regidores of the past year came in to ask if the new officials were now ready "to raise the change"

(*K'a ?ilalbal yak' helel*). They said *pat?ot'ew* before the *nakawane*. Then bowed and kissed hand (*kux' ibale*) with all men in left interior. Went to *dest* and spoke with *me?il k'op, kux' ibale* with her.

At 11:15 *balmaletik* took out the table, laid considered cloth on it, put 3 liters of trago and 2 quarts of beer. The first *nakawane* did the *spalanbe'mahtan me'il tatil* with the first judge standing before him. Then the first

#621
124
796
693
576
[203]

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#62 124 796 693 576 [788]				judge got up and stood before the second judge and did the *spalanbe xolsak tsyspol k'in mahtanil* (account to company for the little gift. He then went to the first *nakawane* with the *xak'inal* (good day greeting). Then all the assembled company stood up and turn to wall and gave the benediction to the gift of the ancestors
	21. Why do they stand and turn to the wall?	Not asked—preceded observation	Not asked	So that the devil does not enter
#62 124 796 [293] [693]	22. What do they do after they drink coffee?	They drink liquor seated, resting their heart, in the entry of the house of the president	Drink liquor to await the hour they go to the cabildo	Two beers and 2 liters liquor were laid to rest. At 11:55 women came in to get liters of liquor. Put it under a kerchief and took it out to women in kitchen. Judges and regidores put on red kerchiefs. At 12 noon two judges got up and said goodbye, first to the *balnial* then the first judge went to the *nakawane* while the second judge and two regidores followed behind him. Then together the four said goodbye to the *nakawane* and to the *mo°il k'op*. Firecrackers were set off to advise police that the group was setting out on their way to the town hall. Police were to meet them at the townhall and had to be advised so that they would arrive at the same time. Two past regidores came to the *mo°il k'op* and said goodbye. The group set out together
[202] [625]				
	[23. Omitted.]			
#62 124 788 796 [693]	24. How do they enter the townhall?	They enter two by two. They kneel and cross themselves at the door of the cabildo	They enter two by two, kneel at the door. They rise, enter, arrive, kneel before the *tatik* table	Pair by pair they entered and touched cross of bonner with their rosaries. First the president and síndico then first and second judges followed by judges from Madronal, La Grandeza, San Vicente, and Cruz Quemada
	25. Why do they cross themselves?	Because they show respect to the holy cross		

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

#621 124 796	44. Where do the old officials go?	To the house of the old president or to the house of the former first judge		
	45. What do they do there?	They go to say goodbye		
	46. What do their hearts say?	Their hearts are very sad		
	47. Why do they kiss all the people present?		Because they want a miracle in order that there be no illness to pass in office	
#621 124 794 796	48. Who is in the church?	The mayordomos are in the church		The mayordomos sit at the bench in back of the church
	49. What are the mayordomos doing?	They are seated at the door of the church. They watch the new officials enter the church		
	50. Why are they seated in the church?	In order to know who will be the new officials to see *(ya i'il)* in the townhall		
#621 124 796	51. Where do the new officials go when they come out of the church?	The new police enter inside the kitchen (Chart 12). The president enters inside the townhall	Leave church and pass to the townhall	The police go to the kitchen attached to the townhall and the rest of the officials go into the townhall
[539] [693]	52. What does the president say to the two principales inside the cabildo?	"Where are you, *Mamal principal?*"	First judge gives *patbeyo'n'an* with the two principales. "Good day, tat. How does God see you, tat. Now you have taken your heart, has spoken your heart. Now you have been before the face of the motherfather. Where you take the holy oath inside the holy cold house, holy cold abode. You saw the procession in the plaza before the temple and inside the holy mother church for the commander lord. There is no fear, no embarrassment. That is all. Go rest your heart	[I was not present for these sessions]
	53. What does the principal reply?	"Enter, Mr. new president *(mamal 'al' prenrente)* and enter, Mr. New judges *(mamal 'al' alkaletik)*"		
#621 124	54. What do they do then?	They sit a little each in his own chair	They sit down. They begin to drink liquor	
273 796 693	55. What do they do after they have rested their heart a little?	The first judge and the president order the fourth regidor to go get a liter of trago		
	56. For whom do they get the liter of the gift?	For the new officials		
	57. What do they do with the gift when the regidor arrives?	They put it in the middle *(ta yolil komun)*		

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*621 124 796 539 693 273	58. What do the principales say to the first judge in the cabildo on the New Year?	They give the *spatbeyo?t'an*		
	59. What does the judge say when he gives the gift to the principales?	"Give pardon, mamal *krinipal*. Let a little enter to give warmth to your body"		
	60. What do the principales say?	"Thank you, *tuo mamal alkal, mamal prenrente; mamal xintiku*"		
	61. What does the judge say?	"Pardon and let a little drink warm your body"		
	62. What does the judge say to the regidor?	"Lend me your hand, *mamal rchirol stanebal* (second regidor). Look, pour the gift of the ancestors (*me?tiktanik*) for the *mamal krinnipaletik*"		
	63. What does the fourth regidor say as he pours the gift for the principal?	"With your permission, *mamal krinnipal, mamal ?alkaletik*, I look and give the gift"		
*621 124 796 693 273	64. Who drinks first on New Year in the townhall?	The two principales		
	65. Second?	President		
	66. Third?	Síndico		
	67. Fourth?	First judge		
	68. Fifth?	Second judge		
	69. Sixth?	Third judge		
	70. Seventh?	Fourth judge		
	71. Eighth?	First regidor		
	72. Ninth?	Second regidor		
	73. Tenth?	Third regidor		
	74. Eleventh?	Fourth regidor		
	75. What do they do after the first round of drinks?	They continue drinking until they get a little drunk		
	76. What happens at noon?	They close the doors of the townhall		
	77. What do the police do in the kitchen?	They enter and sit on a bench		
	78. Where do they sit?	(Chart 11)		
	79. What is the first order that he gives the first new police?	He sends the fourth police to bring a little liquor		
	80. What do they do when the fourth returns?	He orders a police of the colonia to "measure" the liquor		